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OFFICE LOCATION: College Hall 216C
OFFICE HOURS: TR 1:30-3 p.m. o.b.a.



Revolutions in Modern Europe

W 2-5 p.m., Meyerson Hall B5

When and why did revolution become a recurrent feature of modern politics, and how have people experienced it? How have those in power attempted to grapple with revolution—which has typically meant to suppress or at least rechannel it? What motivates the so-called “masses” to revolt, and how do revolutions politicize them? What is lost in revolutions, and what outlives or emerges from them? In this course, designed as an undergraduate seminar, we will grapple with all of these questions and more. Beginning with the French Revolution of 1789, we will survey a wide range of revolutionary moments in modern European history, including the complex French legacy, the “polycentric” Revolution of 1848, the age of national unifications, the upheavals associated with World War I, decolonization, 1968, and the end of the Cold War. Our readings will encompass not only relevant secondary literature but key primary sources, such as writings by Edmund Burke, Olympe de Gouges, Mary Wollstonecraft, Toussaint L’Ouverture, Karl Marx, Giuseppe Mazzini, Vladimir Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, and Albert Camus. Assessment is based on class participation, a take-home midterm, and a take-home final.

I. Required readings

David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
Toussaint L'Ouverture, *The Haitian Revolution*, ed. Nick Nesbitt (London: Verso, 2008).
John Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, vol. 2, *From the French Revolution to the Present*, 3rd ed. (New York: Norton, 2009).
Various materials posted to Canvas.

All hard-copy materials are available for purchase at Penn Book Center. They have also been placed on short-term loan at Rosengarten Reserve in Van Pelt Library. BorrowDirect and E-ZBorrow are always options as well. Students who obtain older editions are responsible for any resultant gaps or differences in pagination.

II. Course components

- CLASS PARTICIPATION. In a seminar, your role is not only to observe and contemplate, but also to participate actively. Regular and punctual attendance is crucial. Every student is granted one “freebie” absence. Use it wisely! Each subsequent unexcused absence will lower your participation grade by two steps, e.g. A- to B. An absence is excused only with some sort of hard-copy note from a physician, counselor, coach, etc. Yet simply being present is only part of your commitment. Come having read everything required, and well: underline, highlight, jot down questions. Take detailed notes and make meaningful contributions to discussion.
- TAKE-HOME MIDTERM. For this essay-based exam, you will choose from one of several prompts and write a response of 6-8 pages in length. You will be expected to cite and analyze our readings to support your argument. This is due on March 5.
- TAKE-HOME FINAL. For this essay-based exam, you will choose two prompts: one from several options dealing with the second half of the course, as well as a second prompt of a cumulative nature. Your response to the first should be 6-8 pages in length, while the second should be 8-10 pages long. In both cases you will again be expected to cite and analyze our readings to support your argument. This is due by May 5.

III. Assessment

class participation	20%
take-home midterm	30%
take-home final	50%

A-level work, besides evincing strong grammar, syntax, and overall style, reflects independent thinking in close dialogue with the sources. B-level work meets only some of these standards and/or meets them only partially. C-level work is merely satisfactory or rote, while D-level work begins to show severe problems of content, analysis, or composition. Failed efforts will receive an F.

IV. Policies, expectations, and tips

- ❖ Your teacher reserves the right to modify this syllabus when absolutely necessary.
- ❖ Appointments during regular office hours must be scheduled via Canvas.
- ❖ Come to class on time.
- ❖ E-distraction has become a problem since the mid-2000s. It is unstudious in the classroom and unprofessional in the workplace, and it is also a surefire way to torpedo your participation grade. **Laptop computers are not allowed during class.** For readings and notetaking you may use a tablet computer, but only if the WiFi function is disabled. Keyboard peripherals are not permitted. Your teacher reserves the right to ban use of all computing devices for the duration of the course if abuse of even tablet computers comes to light.
- ❖ Mobile telephones must be muted and put away, out of your sight and mine, once class begins. Keep your mobile telephone in a bag or pocket, not in your lap.
- ❖ Drinks in closed containers and simple snacks with minimal odor (e.g. granola bars) are allowed during class, but please leave burritos, salads, sandwiches, stews, cheese plates, roast mutton, etc. at home. Dining in class is inconsiderate to your fellow students.
- ❖ Distracting or disruptive behavior in general is not permitted.
- ❖ I am happy to accommodate officially documented disabilities, but bear in mind that this cannot be arranged less than two weeks in advance, nor retroactively.
- ❖ Overdue assignments will be penalized by one letter grade per day late. It is in your best interest to notify me well beforehand of any potential lateness. I strive for transparency in the classroom, and I encourage you to do the same!
- ❖ Please do not e-mail me with questions about an assignment under 24 hours before it is due to be submitted.
- ❖ Guidelines for written assignments will be distributed in class and posted to Canvas.
- ❖ Midway through the semester, we will schedule a diagnostic meeting to discuss your participation and progress in the course, as well as any concerns you may have.
- ❖ Plagiarism is the use of another's work—whether quotations, organization, or general ideas—without proper citation. This may arise through carelessness, collaboration, purchase from a termpaper mill, or plain ignorance, but there is no excuse for it. Plagiarism constitutes not only reckless laziness but intellectual theft, and it will be punished at the highest level possible. The same applies to cheating, regardless of the specific tactic used, or to any other form of academic misconduct. Refer to <http://www.upenn.edu/academicintegrity> for details. **In short: don't do it.** To say nothing of the ethical implications, the potential consequences for your career and life are astronomically out of proportion to whatever time or energy you might save yourself in the very near term.
- ❖ Use e-mail to supplement face-to-face communication with your teacher, not replace it. Come to office hours! Write to me with simple questions or straightforward requests that can easily be addressed in a few sentences.

V. Schedule and readings

An asterisk (*) indicates availability on Canvas.

[1. January 15 = Monday class schedule]

2. January 22 / Course introduction and housekeeping

3. January 29 / The French Revolution of 1789

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, pp. 435-56
- From Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762)*
- Several *cahiers de doléances* (1789)*
- From Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, "What is the Third Estate?" (1789)*
- *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* (1789)*
- From Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790)*
- From Olympe de Gouges, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen* (1791)*
- From Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792)*
- Roger Chartier, "Do Books Make Revolutions?" in *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (1991)*

4. February 5 / The French Revolution of 1792

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, pp. 456-78
- National Convention debate (1792)*
- R. R. Palmer, "Twelve Terrorists to Be," in *Twelve Who Ruled: The Year of the Terror in the French Revolution* (1941)*
- *Leveé en masse* (1793)*
- Four speeches of Maximilien de Robespierre (1792-94)*
- IN HARD COPY: L'Ouverture, pp. 1-80

5. February 12 / Napoleon and the Restoration

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chaps. 13, 15
- Various statements and proclamations of Napoleon Bonaparte (1796-1812)*
- From the French Civil Code (1804)*
- From Jakob Walter, *The Diary of a Napoleonic Foot Soldier* (1806-13)*
- From Joseph de Maistre, *Essay on the Generative Principle of Political Constitutions* (1810)*
- Letter from Klemens von Metternich to Friedrich Gentz (1819)*
- From the political creed of Klemens von Metternich (1820)*
- From the *German Federal Act* (1815)*
- From the *Carlsbad Decrees* (1819)*
- From the *Vienna Final Act* (1820)*

6. February 19 / 1848

- **SCHEDULE DIAGNOSTIC MEETING TO DISCUSS PARTICIPATION, CONCERNS, ETC.**
- **TAKE-HOME MIDTERM PROMPTS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS**
- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chap. 16
- Jonathan Sperber, "Varieties of Revolutionary Experience," in *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851*, 2nd ed. (2005)*
- From the *Staats-Lexikon*, "Parties" (1845-48)*
- Heppenheim Program of the southwest German liberals (1847)*
- Gustav von Struve, "Motion in the German Pre-Parliament" (1848)*
- From the general assembly of the Catholic associations of the Rhineland and Westphalia (1849)*
- Friedrich Julius Stahl, "What is the Revolution?" (1852)*
- Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1852)*

7. February 26 / The Industrial Revolution

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chap. 14
- Jan de Vries, "The Industrial Revolution and the Industrious Revolution" (1994)*
- From Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (1835)*
- From Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help* (1859)*
- From Charles Dickens, *Hard Times* (1854)*
- From Michael Sadler's report on the textile factories (1832)*
- From Lord Ashley's report on the mines (1842)*
- From Edwin Chadwick's report on sanitary conditions (1842)*
- E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism" (1967)*

8. March 5 / Nationalism and the nation-state

- **TAKE-HOME MIDTERM DUE IN CLASS**
- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chaps. 17-18
- From Johann Gottfried Herder, *Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-91)*
- From Johann Gottlieb Fichte, *Addresses to the German Nation* (1807-8)*
- From Ernst Moritz Arndt, "The German Fatherland" (1813)*
- Lord Byron, "The Isles of Greece" (1821)*
- Giuseppe Mazzini on nationality (1852)*
- Giuseppe Mazzini, "Duties Towards Your Country" (1858)*
- Lajos Kossuth's dinner speech in Washington, D.C. (1852)*
- From Otto von Bismarck, "Blood and Iron" (1862)*
- Gay Gullickson, "Les Pétroleuses," in *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (1996)*

9. March 12 / SPRING BREAK

10. March 19 / Red revolution

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chaps. 23-24
- From Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism* (1899)*
- From Rosa Luxemburg, *Reform or Revolution* (1900)*
- From Vladimir Lenin, *What is to be Done?* (1902)*
- Leon Trotsky, "Peculiarities of Russia's Development" (1930)*
- Martin Malia, "Red October: The Revolution to End All Revolutions," in *History's Locomotives: Revolutions and the Making of the Modern World* (2006)*

11. March 26 / Fascist revolution

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chap. 25
- Benito Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism" (1932)*
- FILM: Leni Riefenstahl, *Triumph of the Will* (1935)*
- From Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (1925)*
- *Reich Citizenship Law* (1935)*
- *Wannsee Protocol* (1942)*
- George C. Mosse, "Fascism and the French Revolution" (1989)*

12. April 2 / Independence movements and decolonization

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, pp. 1160-75
- From Albert Camus, *Algerian Chronicles* (1958)*
- Frantz Fanon, "On Violence," in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961)*
- Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History" (2003)*
- Jawaharlal Nehru on Marxism, capitalism, and non-alignment (1941/1956)*
- Sukarno's speech at the opening of the Bandung Conference (1955)*
- Jawaharlal Nehru's speech to the political committee of the Bandung Conference (1955)*
- Anwar el Sadat, "Afro-Asian Solidarity and the World Mission of the Peoples of Africa and Asia" (1957)*

13. April 9 / 1968

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, remainder of chaps. 27-28
- Daniel Cohn-Bendit, "The French Student Revolt" (1968)*
- Claude Lefort: "1968 Revisited: A French View" (1988)*
- Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, "May 1968 in France: The Rise and Fall of a New Social Movement," in *1968: The World Transformed* (1998)*
- "The First 'Sit-In': Revolt against Rule by Professors" (1966)*
- "Student Slain" (1967)*
- From Rudi Dutschke, "We Demand the Expropriation of Axel Springer" (1967)*
- "The Statement of the Fourteen" (1969)*
- Ulrike Meinhof, "From Protest to Resistance" (1968)*
- "Communards on Themselves" (1968)*
- From Horst Krüger, "The Children of Liberalism" (1968)*

14. April 16 / 1989

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chap. 29
- Mikhail Gorbachev on *Perestroika* (1987)*
- Vaclav Havel, "Farce, Reformability, and the Future of the World" (1987)*
- Stasi report on motives for emigration (1989)*
- "Special Train from Pankow with Transfers in Vienna and Frankfurt: Refugees from the GDR, their Route across the Border, and their Arrival in the Federal Republic" (1989)*
- "Founding Appeal of the New Forum" (1989)*
- From "October Revolution 1989" (1989)*
- " 'We Want In!' The Bear is Dancing on the Border" (1989)*
- J. C. Sharman, "Culture, Strategy, and State-Centered Explanations of Revolution, 1789 and 1989" (2003)*
- Paul Betts, "Socialism, Social Rights, and Human Rights: The Case of East Germany" (2012)*

15. April 23 / A counterrevolution of the market

- **TAKE-HOME FINAL PROMPTS DISTRIBUTED IN CLASS**
- IN HARD COPY: Harvey, chaps. 1-4
- Angus Burgin, "Planning against Planning," in *The Great Persuasion: Reinventing Free Markets since the Depression* (2012)*
- Ludwig Erhard, "West Germany's Social Market Economy" (1960)*
- Margaret Thatcher, "The Free Market Versus State Intervention" (1979)*
- Chancellor Kohl's Bundestag speech (1993)*
- "Freedom in Responsibility" (1994)*
- Tony Blair, "New Labour and the Unions" (1994)*
- Gerhard Schröder introduces "Agenda 2010" (2003)*

16. April 30 / Since the end of the Cold War

- IN HARD COPY: Merriman, chap. 30
- Mark Mazower, "What Remains: On the European Union" (2012)*

TAKE-HOME FINAL DUE VIA E-MAIL BY MAY 5